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IRELAND:

Throw away the Guns .... Extend Civil Disobedience

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We have read the political journals and all the various political solutions for Northern Ireland and all of them involve some dirty deals, or killings —or both. Lynch is meeting Heath and it could well be that those bellicose Protestants in Belfast could soon feel the weight of the British Army's terror if a deal is hatched up at Chequers at their expense.

Of all the political stands being taken up in Britain the worst is probably that of the International Socialists. They support 'those who are trying to force the British troops out of Ireland' (i.e. the IRA) but they regret the blowing up of the Electricity Board building in which one was killed and 35 were badly maimed and injured. As always, the IS are half-hearted in everything—including their support for killing. They want a military victory for the IRA—but with as little bloodshed as possible. But it is towards the British Army that the IS reveals its full chicanery. 'It is the system which stands accused,' they write in *Socialist Worker*, 'not the individual soldier. They too are its victims. They are trained to obey orders, and cannot question these orders.'

That is saying that soldiers are not men, they are things, without blood in their veins or thoughts in their heads. Of **course** soldiers can question orders. Of **course** they can refuse to kill their fellow human beings at the order of some brutalised officer. If they don't refuse then the killings will go on—and on both sides. The violence of the British Army strengthens the IRA and the Irish State. The violence of the IRA strengthens the British Army and the British State. The essential human feelings of the people, both Irish and British—are drowned in hatred and

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Internment has failed both militarily and politically since neither Faulkner nor Heath can come up with a solution that will satisfy the two communities, separated and divided by religious differences. The Catholic minority, who at first welcomed the British Army, have felt and are still feeling the discriminate violence of this same army, which has been concentrated on Catholic areas. It has wrecked Catholic homes and the reaction by Catholics to the internment of members of their community has brought riots and more repression and violence.

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We don't believe there is any solution other than people acting like human beings and refusing to kill each other at the orders of some authority or other. All the rest is politics—and the people cannot act like human beings when the politicians move in.

To the British soldiers we say: **Throw away your guns and come home!** To the oppressed people of Northern Ireland we say: **Refuse to obey the IRA! Extend the campaign of non-violent civil disobedience!**

THE EDITORS.

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IT IS REPORTED that the Operation Omega workers have been arrested crossing the border into East Pakistan from Indian East Bengal. Previously, the party crossed the border in a jeep and after fruitless discussion were turned back by Pakistan authorities. It is not known what will happen to them now.

The operation is designed to call world attention to the attitude of the Pakistan authorities to the refugees. It is obvious that the amount of aid the Operation Omega can give is minimal, given their entirely voluntary status and their meagre resources, although food has been taken over for 'several hundred people . . . who have been without food for at least four days'. There has been some criticism of this scheme on grounds of its expense, its impracticability and its 'masochism'.

This is not the first time such an enterprise has been subject to criticism. It will probably be recalled that a previous editor of FREEDOM strongly criticised the voyage of Everyman III to Leningrad and similar non-violent peace missions have been criticised.

We have seen sufficient pictures and read sufficient news from **East Pakistan** to make it certain that a gigantic man-made catastrophe has enveloped the whole of the area. War, persecution, famine and disease stalk the land and, reluctant as we are to use the word 'genocide', it is probable that a largely unconscious, unplanned and haphazard genocide of the Hindu population of East Pakistan is taking place; largely being carried out by the military forces of West Pakistan and her 'volunteers' aided by famine, disease and flood—the ever-present menaces in Asia.

In the face of this appalling holocaust and the searing photographs of victims, what can one do? Is it enough to do nothing, as the British political parties and government appear to be doing, or is there some worth in making a token protest or a symbolic gesture? This at least will make it known what the governments of the world are doing and some of us owe it to ourselves not to let such things be forgotten.

One cannot just refer to the outrageous behaviour of the West Pakistan army, one may cite the political chicanery of Mr. Bhutto, the atrocities committed by the **East** Pakistanis in revenge against their own minorities, the Pontius Pilate attitude of the Indian government, the British government's hypocrisy, the cynical opportunism of the Chinese supplying of arms to West Pakistan and the vulture-like hovering and trafficking of the US and USSR with the ultimate pay-off of a defence treaty between Russia and India. It is obvious from all the wheeling and dealing that a new 'Vietnam' war is there in the making, and what is happening in East Pakistan makes Northern Ireland look like a tea-party. It is not for nothing that China and America are supplying arms to West Pakistan and Russia and India have signed a treaty. Nothing is for nothing in international relations.

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The Stormont Government calls the guerilla tactics of the IRA, let alone stop them, the civil disobedience is also having an effect. Let us hope that in the long run this will bring people of the two religious faiths together. The civil disobedience campaign is an accumulative one, but it is already becoming a serious problem for the Stormont Government.

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The Stormont Government calls the IRA 'terrorist', but the methods of the British Army are terror-inspiring throughout the Catholic areas of Belfast, Derry and Newry. The present crisis, with its eruption of violence, has been brought about by the desperate reliance on internment.

RENT STRIKES

Although the British Army is finding it very difficult to come to terms with the guerilla tactics of the IRA, let alone stop them, the civil disobedience is also having an effect. Let us hope that in the long run this will bring people of the two religious faiths together. The civil disobedience campaign is an accumulative one, but it is already becoming a serious problem for the Stormont Government.

In Belfast and Derry, no rents have been paid on the Catholic housing estates, while in other towns the majority of Catholic council tenants are withholding their rents. This strike is very solid and it has been estimated that £9,000 a week is being lost from four areas alone. 'They can't turn 500 of us on the streets' is an expression of the growing conviction in this tactic and the solidarity that it can bring about. The Stormont Government has said that people will not be absolved from their legal liabilities, but so far they have not made any move to make the tenants pay up.

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The usual agitation about West Pakistan has brought an agitation for a new state—'Bangla Desh', all the politicos in office, and in exile, have rallied round this cry for an independent government. Obviously the Indians and Russians have seen the advantage to themselves of the further whittling away of Pakistan. It is impossible to respect political leaders and national figures who blithely accept such geographical abortions as the splitting of Pakistan into two zones about four hundred miles apart (almost as crazy as the setting up of the 'Allied Zone' of Berlin in the middle of East Germany). It was said of the late Mr. Jinnah, a leader of Pakistan after partition, 'for every solution he finds a difficulty'. Certainly this 'solution' was festooned with difficulties.

There have been the usual vain pleas to governments to act 'in the name of humanity'. Whenever have governments acted except in their own interests? It is in the interests of very few states that a new state, even of Bangla Desh, should arise unless it is a client-state and in the pocket of one of the great powers. We shall see a government in exile of Bangla Desh when it is seen which way the chips are falling.

It would not yet be worth anybody's while to commit themselves to backing East Pakistan with its rickety finances and enormous lines of communication—through unfriendly territory—to supply their non-productive troops in West Pakistan. As Steinbeck said of the Germans in Norway in WWII, 'The flies have conquered the fly-paper'.

As for the usual liberation wet-dream of 'freeing Bangla Desh' by war, Vietnam is still in its death-throes of liberation. A naïve but truthful American commander said of a wiped-out village that 'we had to destroy it to save it'. The great powers would wipe out Pakistan—East and West—to save it for their ideas of domination.

We cannot, as anarchists, support the setting up—under whoever's auspices—of another state apparatus. Perhaps Operation Omega is doing more for the peasants of West Pakistan than any 'Free' Bangla Desh state will!

Continued on page 3

SOME SECULAR MYTHS

ONE OF THE PREVAILING beliefs of the twentieth century, despite the horrors of two world wars and the horrors of the intervals of 'peace', is the belief in 'progress'. The conviction that mankind was moving steadily forward with the aid of science and education to a world of peace, democracy, and leisure. This was to be accomplished by the spread of education, therefore of literacy, hence of reason.

The history of the twentieth century, indeed the history of mankind shows very different forces operating. Great historical movements, mainly wars, have been motivated by forces far removed from sweet reason. The three threads which form the pattern of war and power-politics are nationalism, patriotism and militarism. Taken in isolation each of them have factors which cannot be denigrated. Love for a particular region and its people, loyalty and solidarity with a group, cultivation of courage, all of these are virtues (not unflawed) but taken together they lead only to the grave. With the welcome decline in organized religion, the misty concepts of patriotism, nationalism and militarism, took its place with the miracles of nationalism, the mystery of patriotism and the authority of militarism with its icons of banners and its robes of a priesthood of the death-cult. When, with increasing totalitarianism fostered by communism out of nationalism, the leader figure arose, the apotheosis of the god-king cult, we know the shocking results for humanity. Even now in times of national despair comes the call for a leader 'above all parties'.

The secondary factor in 'progress' and the only one which can be physically witnessed is that of science and technology. The capacity of scientists for prostitution turned out to be unlimited. The so-called pinnacle of scientific achievement of the twentieth century was the splitting of the atom and its use in the atom-bomb. This would have never come about except for the willingness of scientists to work for a project that had no other aim but death and destruction. Recent voyaging in space and to the moon owes its conception to the military genius of Adolf Hitler's 'revenge' rockets invented by his willing slave Werner von Braun. Von Braun proved no less a willing slave to the Americans when they wished to launch spy-satellites.

Herzen pointed out the increased power given to the state by technology and wrote of 'Genghis Khan with telegraphs'. Technology is not merely something which can be taken over lock, stock and barrel by the free society. Much of it would never have been invented—mass production for example—but for the rapacious needs of capitalism and the death-producing devices of militarism.

The conviction of the scientists that they are the rational and practical men of the world lead them to rationalize the idiocies of life into scientific systems and to accept as 'practical' the totalitarian systems which have established themselves. They will cheerfully officiate at the conditioning of mankind for whatever lunacy is prevalent. Social adjustment to the madhouse is their norm.

* * *

It was said in the House of Lords when one of the Education Bills was passed in the 1880s 'now we must educate our masters'. The growth of the popular newspaper ('edited by office boys for office boys') effectively took over this task and the mass media—reinforced by television—have continued it with the resultant propaganda-fed public, conditioned into a consumer-mass. The 'soft-sell' of the salesman transferred itself to politics and the cult of personality is marketed like soap powder or cigarettes. Thus 'education' negated democracy. Illiteracy at least once preserved one from the idiocies of the popular press.

One of the grand dreams with which man was forced to accept the industrial revolution (and, even now, the computerized society or the cybernetic system) is that of increased leisure. This proved to be an illusion, or the grim reality of unemployment. The vicious rat-race of the consumer society leads to overtime and the working wife, all to pay for labour-saving devices. Whatever wisps of leisure are left after the time-consuming journey home are all too frequently filled with mechanized leisure. Television slays its millions nightly. Man has become a vicarious consumer of other people's activities. His living is still done in the dreams of gambling and astrology. Life is so predictable that only chance can give him a thrill, and the dangerous narcotics for the body or for the mind offer escape. Winning the pools is still an idea of heaven for a materialist age.

The dream of democracy, given a foretaste in the French Revolution, led to a bloody Thermidor and the rise of Napoleon with the accompanying military conscription in the name of equality and fraternity—not to mention liberty. The sham of pa
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Bombs and Hippies

Dear Comrades,

A.W.U. in two articles, 'The Bombs of January' and 'The Battle of Ibiza' makes numerous remarks that need a response. In the first of these articles (FREEDOM, 26.6.71), Arthur rightly points to the world 'civil war' or to use a fine, old-fashioned phrase the world revolution. He leaves out Vietnam which is a major omission but a basic movement has been sensed by our friend.

It is pointed out that bombings by the Angry Brigade can lead to repression, increasing violence, armed conflict and then dictatorship by the winning side. No one in their senses believes the capitalists and the State are going to relinquish power without a fierce, bitter struggle. The anarchist cannot however support a dictatorship and needs to beware of such a dangerous *counter revolutionary* occurrence. There is nothing inevitable about a dictatorship emerging. The social revolution which needs to transform our world can, in fact, only succeed if it learns from the mistakes of previous revolutions. One thing is certain—this is the last chance for revolutionary ideas and for the submission to orders and commanding are part and parcel of violent action?

Arthur ends by pointing to the hippies and an alternative society which, naturally, needs to be created—and is being created (didn't you know?)—within the shell of the old. Fine, but this alternative has got to break out when it's ready and to do this we need our cool-headed brigade. Yes, violence is highly dangerous and we need to be alive to Arthur's comments about this, but to understand the pressures that force such action is to realise the frustration felt by those who take it. Of course non-violent tactics and rational discussion have a part to play, but gentle love alone will not build our world. It's got to be defended or it will be trampled underfoot.

LETTERS

is what they have to do to exist. To work within the present society is to support that society unless you are a self-sufficient artist who can help to destroy the oppressors. To opt out of this and create a free, idle, untidy, loving environment can only be done if there is *some* source of bread. To achieve this social norm is providing something, it is providing something valuable and at times, beautiful. Oppressors have kicked hippies around—they're so damned scared—and there has been tragic and sickening exploitation of the hippie scene. Their wounds are the price they have to pay for their effectiveness.

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the only one which can be physically witnessed is that of science and technology. The capacity of scientists for prostitution turned out to be unlimited. The so-called pinnacle of scientific

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foretaste in the French Revolution, led to a bloody Thermidor and the rise of Napoleon with the accompanying military conscription in the name of equality and fraternity—not to mention liberty.

Bombs and Hippies

Dear Comrades,

A.W.U. in two articles, 'The Bombs of January' and 'The Battle of Ibiza' makes numerous remarks that need a response. In the first of these articles (FREEDOM, 26.6.71), Arthur rightly points to the world 'civil war' or to use a fine, old-fashioned phrase the world revolution. He leaves out Vietnam which is a major omission but a basic movement has been sensed by our friend.

It is pointed out that bombings by the Angry Brigade can lead to repression, increasing violence, armed conflict and then dictatorship by the winning side. No one in their senses believes the capitalists and the State are going to relinquish power without a fierce, bitter struggle. The anarchist cannot however support a dictatorship and needs to beware of such a dangerous *counter revolutionary* occurrence. There is nothing inevitable about a dictatorship emerging. The social revolution which needs to transform our world can, in fact, only succeed if it learns from the mistakes of previous revolutions. One thing is certain—this is the last chance for revolutionary ideas and for the world. If THEY win they will finish everything good there is and destroy the planet.

It is useful to have our friend to remind one of the dangers of violence, we need to remember that 'some people get a kick out of fighting, out of plotting, out of submitting themselves to discipline, out of tormenting their fellows and above all out of issuing orders, commanding, moulding the course of events, achieving fame in the records of history'. But why should it be assumed that submission to orders and commanding are part and parcel of violent action?

Arthur ends by pointing to the hippies and an alternative society which, naturally, needs to be created—and is being created (didn't you know?)—within the shell of the old. Fine, but this alternative has got to break out when it's ready and to do this we need our cool-headed brigade. Yes, violence is highly dangerous and we need to be alive to Arthur's comments about this, but to understand the pressures that force such action is to realise the frustration felt by those who take it. Of course non-violent tactics and rational discussion have a part to play, but gentle love alone will not build our world. It's got to be defended or it will be trampled underfoot.

LETTERS

A.W.U. is depressed about the hippies in Ibiza and their 'irresponsible' behaviour. He does not see that freedom is the vital ingredient here, not compromising but being the alternative. Hippies have a great deal to do with anarchism. Complaints are made that they are 'Parasitic on "straight" society', that they 'provide nothing' and 'condemn the society that they live off as wicked and immoral'.

Just what do you expect them to do? A little imagination will show you this is what they have to do to exist. To work within the present society is to support that society unless you are a self-sufficient artist who can help to destroy the oppressors. To opt out of this and create a free, idle, untidy, loving environment can only be done if there is *some* source of bread. To achieve this social norm is providing something, it is providing something valuable and at times, beautiful. Oppressors have kicked hippies around—they're so damned scared—and there has been tragic and sickening exploitation of the hippie scene. Their wounds are the price they have to pay for their effectiveness.

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Fraternally,

J.W.

The OZ Case

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I am not trying to disregard the *Oz* case. I merely feel that it should be put into context.

Gateshead, Co. Durham B. STOKOE.

afb

Secretary:
Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannafore Road,
Rotton Park, Birmingham 16

ANARCHIST FEDERATION of BRITAIN

AFBIB—To all Groups.

Next AFBIB Meeting and Production, Sunday, September 5. Please send a delegate. (Accommodation provided if necessary.) Address all letters to:

95 West Green Road, London, N.15. Material that cannot wait for the bulletin to be sent to R. Atkins, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York.

The Contact Column in 'Freedom' is also available for urgent information. Groups should send latest addresses to Birmingham. New inquirers should write direct to them or to the AFB information office in Birmingham.

AFB REGIONAL GROUPS

There are now anarchist groups in almost every part of the country. To find your nearest group write to:

N.E. England: M. Renick, 122 Mowbray Street, Heaton, Newcastle on Tyne.
Essex & E. Herts.: P. Newell, 'Aegean', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester. (QM, FL.)
Surrey: G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom.
Yorkshire: Martin Watkins, Flat D, 90 Clarendon Road, Leeds, LS2 9L.
Manchester Anarchist and Syndicalist Group: S. Newton, 406 Lightbowne Road, Moston, Manchester 10.
Scotland: Secretary, Mike Malet, 1 Lynnewood Place, Maryfield, Dundee.
Wales: c/o P. L. Mare (address above).
N. Ireland: c/o Freedom Press.
The American Federation of Anarchists: P.O. Box 9885, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440, USA.
S. Ireland: 20 College Lane, Dublin, 2.
University and Student Groups: c/o P. L. Mare

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office boys') effectively took over this task and the mass media—reinforced by television—have continued it with the resultant propaganda-fed public, conditioned into a consumer-mass. The 'soft-sell' of the salesman transferred itself to politics and the cult of personality is marketed like soap powder or cigarettes. Thus 'education' negated democracy. Illiteracy at least once preserved one from the idiocies of the popular press.

One of the grand dreams with which man was forced to accept the industrial revolution (and, even now, the computerized society or the cybernetic system) is that of increased leisure. This proved to be an illusion, or the grim reality of unemployment. The vicious rat-race of the consumer society leads to overtime and the working wife, all to pay for labour-saving devices. Whatever wisps of leisure are left after the time-consuming journey home are all too frequently filled with mechanized leisure. Television slays its millions nightly. Man has become a vicarious consumer of other people's activities. His living is still done in the dreams of gambling and astrology. Life is so predictable that only chance can give him a thrill, and the dangerous narcotics for the body or for the mind offer escape. Winning the pools is still an idea of heaven for a materialist age.

The dream of democracy, given a foretaste in the French Revolution, led to a bloody Thermidor and the rise of Napoleon with the accompanying military conscription in the name of equality and fraternity—not to mention liberty. The sham of parliamentary democracy was followed by the sham of revolutions which put another ruling class into power. The idealism utilized by the Russian Revolution was shamelessly betrayed in the *real-politik* of Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin followed by the pragmatic conventionality of Kruschev, Brezhnev and Co.

Drugged by propaganda, mankind takes refuge in political apathy, but even there Big Brother reaches down and interferes with the idiot existence which is the lot of the average man. He is taxed, conscripted and hounded by authority. His homelessness is ignored, his lack of employment is made an economic device, his home or livelihood are snatched away for some fool scheme by the State. All the time the State, whatever the labels of the parties, grows more and more powerful and less and less rational. Baffled by this impotence, mankind seeks for scapegoats and picks on those nearest at hand be they Jews, negroes, immigrants or hippies.

The secularism bred in man by the gross betrayals of the church and the destruction by science and education of the stupid mythology have led to strange cults flourishing with millennial promises, more satisfying fantasies or dubious pseudo-scientific premises. Such cults as Jehovah's Witnesses, the flying-saucer watchers, Scientology, witchcraft, and followers of J. R. Tolkein are all symptoms of a sick society.

It may be thought that this catalogue of man's irrationality and lack of real progress is a death-knell for anarchism. This is not so. The false choice put before man is that he is such a creature of original sin that he needs government. The false choice put upon the anarchists by some of their best friends (and worst enemies) is that man is of such unoriginal goodness that he does not need government. If man is so awful as some claim he is not to be trusted to govern, if he is as good as some claim he does not need government. The truth is he is neither, human nature is a recipe not an ingredient.

The modern state is designed to enhance the most deplorable aspects of humanity. Man's irrational impulses are used scientifically by those who wish to use him. His rational strivings are baulked by the monster State. Man can evolve but all his steps in evolution are revolutionary and are challenges to the established order which is for stabilization and ultimate death.

The problems of mankind—war, poverty and freedom — are soluble. War can be solved by states for their own protection—the *pax Romana* for example. Poverty can be solved by states with welfare schemes. Both of these are necessary for the preservation of the State. Freedom can only be achieved by the individual in co-operation with other individuals. States will not grant this since it menaces their own survival.

JACK ROBINSON.

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IRELAND:

Continued from page 1

In fact, Town Clerks have had to get money from the Development Ministry in order to pay the wages of council workers.

Of course the civil disobedience campaign will be used by the Opposition MPs in Stormont to bring about talks with the Government to bring an end to the present crisis. However, the campaign should not be criticised because of the support it is getting from these MPs, as well as Mr. Lynch and the Catholics who have recently withdrawn from public office. These people will use it to get a political settlement, which will only mean a variation on the rule of government. Mr. Heath and Mr. Lynch no doubt will discuss alternative methods of government, such as proportional representation or a form of veto for the Catholic minority. It is incongruous that these Heads of Governments should consider other means of governing when we, the public, are always being told that the present method of electoral representation is the ideal way of running a country.

A MATTER OF DEGREE

However, government is first of all about governing. Politicians are not really worried how it is done and they very quickly revert to totalitarian methods when their power is threatened. The difference between the methods of Lynch and Heath and those of Brezhnev and Franco is only one of degree. All the shootings, beatings, harassment and violence by the British troops, which are done in the name of the State, are beyond good or evil, and are therefore sacrosanct, or so they think.

The authorities in Ireland want to maintain their power and the civil disobedience campaign, the riots, the barricades, the IRA and the general questioning of authority that is taking place is intolerable to them, for the State cannot endure any other power besides its own. The Pope and the Protestant Church are but a part of the State's power and authority.

People are now struggling to free themselves from repressive government. Perhaps they will at last be able to create a social environment, based on mutual aid and co-operation, from the solidarity and community feeling generated by the civil disobedience campaign. The power of the Church and the State will be undermined as people begin to question their orders and forget the artificial differences created by these authorities.

P.T.

*The Anti-Internment League.

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Gateshead, Co. Durham B. STOKOE.

Another 4-page leaflet. Two articles from FREEDOM: *The relevance of Anarchism today* and *Anarchism and Nationalism.* Available from Freedom Bookshop for 30p a hundred including postage.

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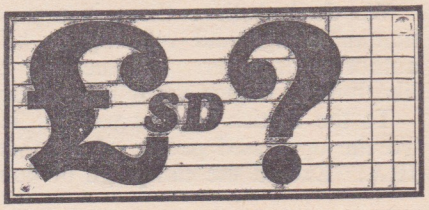
'FREEDOM'

'Freedom' will not appear on September 25 because of Jewish holidays of our typesetter. Our printer is also moving from 84a to 84b and we should appear on October 2 if this move is carried through successfully.



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47 College Road, Epsom.
Watkins, Flat D, 90 Clarendon 9L.
ist and Syndicalist Group: Lightbowne Road, Moston,

Mike Malet, 1 Lynnewood Dundee.
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Police, Press, Prisons & the Public

ANY DEATH is a tragedy to those it deprives of friends or relatives. However, it is instructive to note the reaction of the press in different circumstances. After the shooting of Superintendent Richardson in Blackpool, the grief of his wife, colleagues and friends was splashed across the front pages for days. By contrast we are told little, if anything, of the families and friends of Seamus Cusack, Eamon McDivitt, or any of the army's other recent victims in Northern Ireland. As for the deaths of workers in fields such as mining as a result of the effect of their work on their health, this is not even news.

LAW AND ORDER

As a result of the Blackpool shooting we are beset by yet another campaign for 'law and order'. The funeral of Superintendent Richardson was blatantly exploited with petitions for the return of hanging circulated outside the church. Two senior police officers have called for sterner measures in a press interview.

The sentiments expressed by the two officers in this interview published in *The Times* seem like a rallying call to the more reactionary sections of the public. They denounce the National Council for Civil Liberties, although it is not clear what this body has to do with violent crimes. They object to convicts being given parole to 'breed more criminals'. However if, as they seem to suggest, children can be born criminals, they do not make the logical suggestion that they should be helped in some way before they commit crimes.

They also complain that society has its priorities wrong. But when a police force which, on its own admission, is undermanned and facing violent criminals, can devote its time to harassing the underground press or to sending twenty policemen to ransack the house of a West Indian girl accused of stealing a small sum of money (as recently described in *Time Out* and the *Sunday Times*), it would seem that the police are the ones with their priorities wrong.

THE STATE OF SOCIETY

Another call has come from the Chief Constable of Lancashire who suggests that motorists held up by the police manhunt should use their time to 'reflect on the state of society'. Anyone who takes this advice may reflect that we live in a society where advertising and the media present acquisition and consumption as the only end in life but where many start their life in monotonous dead end schools and find no future but monotonous dead end jobs.

They might also reflect that our attitude to violence is so hypocritical that the casual glamorised violence of many films and TV series is considered entertainment and that the right-wing papers that call for an end to violence in Britain defend army brutality in Ulster and were a few months ago attempting to whitewash the mass murderer Lieutenant Calley.

The criminal is simply an inevitable product of present-day society. Kenneth Allsop in his study o
Bootleggers, quotes a
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Anti-Strike Bill

It's Still the Same

THE TRADE UNION BILL brought in by the Government is on the lines we expected. The power to strike is to be hedged in by so many pains and penalties that the workers will be in an even more slavish position than they are today. Divorced from the soil, they have no option but to beg from the capitalists the right to live; but at least they can refuse to accept the terms offered if they prefer to starve instead. Now even this right is to be taken away from them. On another page we print an article showing how workers fared under the old Combination Laws. If this Bill passes in its present form, it will be almost as dangerous to go on strike as it was in those days. The Conservatives say they merely wish to protect the worker from the tyranny of the Trade Unions, and to give them the right to work for whom and on what terms they choose. Conservatives posing as the friends of freedom is a sight for the gods. The General Strike of May last year gave them the fright of their lives, and if Acts of Parliament can do it, they hope to make such strikes impossible in future. But economic pressure is the principal cause of strikes, and no power on earth will prevent men and women kicking when conditions become intolerable. The mismanagement of last year's strike has depressed the fighting spirit of the workers, who saw all their efforts brought to naught by their leaders; but if the Tories imagine they can take advantage of the present pessimism in the workers' ranks, we think and hope they are in for a rude awakening. Up to the present, the workers have put too much reliance on their leaders. Now that they see so many of them strutting about as Privy Councillors or as members of Governmental bodies, they must and will rely more on themselves, and from this spirit we hope for better and more lasting results than from the futile activities of their representatives in Parliament. But to fight merely for the right to strike and starve would be foolish. They must demand and enforce the right to the means of life without having to bow the knee to capitalist or landlord.

—Reprinted from FREEDOM, May 1927.

Sydicalism in Morocco

ON JULY 10 a group of Moroccan soldiers surrounded the villa of King Hassan II, and sprayed his birthday party guests with machine-gun bullets. The King was hustled to safety by his bodyguards and the threatened assassination was prevented. (The cynical may ask how a marked man is hustled to safety in a building surrounded and occupied by hostile troops, but that is

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Stirner

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On another page we print an article showing how workers fared under the old Combination Laws. If this Bill passes in its present form, it will be almost as dangerous to go on strike as it was in those days. The Conservatives say they merely wish to protect the worker from the tyranny of the Trade Unions, and to give them the right to work for whom and on what terms they choose. Conservatives posing as the friends of freedom is a sight for the gods. The General Strike of May last year gave them the fright of their lives, and if Acts of Parliament can do it, they hope to make such strikes impossible in future. But economic pressure is the

put too much reliance on their leaders. Now that they see so many of them strutting about as Privy Councillors or as members of Governmental bodies, they must and will rely more on themselves, and from this spirit we hope for better and more lasting results than from the futile activities of their representatives in Parliament. But to fight merely for the right to strike and starve would be foolish. They must demand and enforce the right to the means of life without having to bow the knee to capitalist or landlord.

—Reprinted from FREEDOM, May 1927.

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They might also reflect that our attitude to violence is so hypocritical that the casual glamorised violence of many films and TV series is considered entertainment and that the right-wing papers that call for an end to violence in Britain defend army brutality in Ulster and were a few months ago attempting to whitewash the mass murderer Lieutenant Calley.

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This, we were told, was the attempted military coup in Morocco. Within hours it was put down by loyal troops and the leaders were arrested and executed.

That the attack took place is indisputable; whether it was a coup or not is not so certain. Either way it was a good excuse for a purge and within hours nearly a thousand radicals and 'extremists' were behind bars.

It is difficult to say why any of the opposition groups, with the exception of the syndicalists, should want to remove the King from power. The two opposition political parties, the Union National des Forces Populaires and Istiqlal, are both monarchist and even openly declare their loyalty to Hassan. They are of course only opposition parties in name. They support the King and their policies are directly parallel with those of Hassan, although they would like to see the operation speeded up a little. Despite this their offices above a cafe in Tangier's medina have been regularly visited by the security police over the last year, and copies of their newspapers and leaflets confiscated.

The monarchy broke off dialogue with the UNFP in 1961 and the opposition leaders have been attempting to reopen this channel ever since. Last year, when a system of parliamentary democracy was instituted, the UNFP was offered an opportunity to participate. For reasons best known to itself the UNFP refused.

The trade unions in Morocco are equally ineffective in opposition. Despite their differences the three major organisations have their offices in a complex of prefabricated huts just outside Casablanca's dock gates. Two small huts house the General Union of Moroccan Workers (UGMT) and the Union of Moroccan Workers (UMT). A larger hut houses the offices of the Syndicalist Union of Free Workers (USTL). The Syndicalists produce little literature but their standpoint is definitely in favour of workers' control. (This explains to a certain extent their lack of official literature. There is little point in printing leaflets that will be confiscated, or worse get your organisation suppressed.) However, UGMT and UMT posters and leaflets for the May 1 celebrations suggest that the USTL is working more by infiltration and propaganda by example. One UGMT poster declares, 'UGMT—The union that unmasked the syndicalist usurpers!', a Moroccan equivalent of our 'anarchy on the shop floor'.

The Franco-Arabic UGMT and the Arabic UMT share much the same standpoint and the slogan, 'Land, Liberty and Employment', and both denounce the syndicalist version of workers' control. A UGMT May 1 leaflet ends with the cry 'Long live the Moroccan working class. Long live King Hassan II—defender of the Moroccan working class!' A hollow slogan in a country with millions unemployed.

The Syndicalists, nevertheless, seem to have the upper hand in Casablanca which is Morocco's largest industrial area, but quite definitely lose out to the UMT in Marrakesh and Tangier where the majority of the population are tourist service workers or involved in agriculture.

Revolution in Morocco takes a strange shape. Skilled industrial workers return from France and Germany after contract jobs with a working knowledge of militant trade unionism; the millions of one-man businesses breed a kind of natural Proudhonist who, unfortunately, shuns any organisation; the students are as restless as they are anywhere in the world. In January the students had their first taste of clubs and police violence. The students return in October and only last week the Minister of Education called upon the students to 'prove their maturity'—perhaps they will do just that —perhaps they will.

LARRY.

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Two senior police officers have called for sterner measures in a press interview.

The sentiments expressed by the two officers in this interview published in *The Times* seem like a rallying call to the more reactionary sections of the public. They denounce the National Council for Civil Liberties, although it is not clear what this body has to do with violent crimes. They object to convicts being given parole to 'breed more criminals'. However if, as they seem to suggest, children can be born criminals, they do not make the logical suggestion that they should be helped in some way before they commit crimes.

They also complain that society has its priorities wrong. But when a police force which, on its own admission, is undermanned and facing violent criminals, can devote its time to harassing the underground press or to sending twenty policemen to ransack the house of a West Indian girl accused of stealing a small sum of money (as recently described in *Time Out* and the *Sunday Times*), it would seem that the police are the ones with their priorities wrong.

THE STATE OF SOCIETY

Another call has come from the Chief Constable of Lancashire who suggests that motorists held up by the police manhunt should use their time to 'reflect on the state of society'. Anyone who takes this advice may reflect that we live in a society where advertising and the media present acquisition and consumption as the only end in life but where many start their life in monotonous dead end schools and find no future but monotonous dead end jobs.

They might also reflect that our attitude to violence is so hypocritical that the casual glamorised violence of many films and TV series is considered entertainment and that the right-wing papers that call for an end to violence in Britain defend army brutality in Ulster and were a few months ago attempting to whitewash the mass murderer Lieutenant Calley.

The criminal is simply an inevitable product of present-day society. Kenneth Allsop in his study of US gangsters, *The Bootleggers,* quotes an American journalist as saying:

'The criminal takes seriously the barely concealed premises of the culture itself. He sees easy money being made, knows that the rules are constantly broken, knows that there is an internal violence in the act of exploiting the market and ravishing the environment. Thus the forms of American disorganisation arise from the more naked drives within the culture itself, with the workaday masks stripped away that have hidden the sadism and ugliness.'

MR. BIG GOES FREE

If the advocates of toughness have their way it needs no expert to predict the result. The big gangsters who can buy lawyers and corrupt police will stay free. Instead the prisons, even now overcrowded and insanitary, in spite of those who depict them as rest homes, will be increasingly full of a resentful mass of poor and ignorant petty criminals and, no doubt, some innocent people. The harshness that will be needed to maintain order in such prisons will only attract the most brutal to work as warders and a vicious circle of repression and violence will set in. There is nothing imaginary in this picture.

The day before Supt. Richardson was shot, George Jackson, the black writer, was shot in California's notorious San Quentin Adjustment Centre where he had been imprisoned for ten years after stealing $70. Let his description of many of his fellow black prisoners serve as the answer to those calling for harsher prisons:

'The broken men are so damaged that they will never again be suitable members of any sort of social unit. Everything that was still good when they entered the joint, anything inside of them that may have escaped the ruinous effect of black colonial existence, anything that may have been redeemable when they first entered the joint, is gone.'

ROGER SANDELL.

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(Ibid., page 70.)

Racism is, as Ayn Rand has well pointed out, primarily a *collectivist* doctrine in which individuals are supposed to acquire their 'virtues' or their 'vices' not from what *they* are, but from the ethnic *group* to which they belong. Whatever accusations can be made against *The Ego and His Own*, one cannot accuse it of showing sympathy for any collectivism. On the contrary, it is, above all, an *individualist* work.

Yours sincerely,

S. E. PARKER.

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I TRAMPED to my native heath of the Red Clydeside to give my support to the UCS workers. When I arrived I found the air full of great potentiality of a talk of a workers' take-over of the yards and workers' control being established, but then when the kidologist Wedgwood Benn, Scanlon and Feather spoke, it was a different matter. All they spoke of was when the Labour Party is returned to power what they would do, then it will be too late as the damage has been done.

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I should appear October or November. If anyone saw this incident, please write c/o Freedom Press as it may help me in my defence plea of 'Not Guilty'.

SCOTS JIM.

Pakistan

Continued from page 1

It was said by Martin Mayer that to resist any evil, such as war, we must resist the beginnings. 'Bangla Desh' may be the 'Alpha' of a new Vietnam. Let us make it the 'Omega'.

JACK ROBINSON.

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Head Liberation Front

THE NEXT MEETING of the above will be held at 40E Holland Road, W.14 (Basement Flat, entrance Napier Road, 'phone 602 4027), on Monday, September 27 at 7.30 p.m. This will, at least for the foreseeable future, be the last general meeting. We have found that not only are large meetings unwieldy but that several different types of activity appeal separately to the various interested individuals. Some of these activities, which will be organised by those wishing to participate in them, are:—

COMMUNES—City.
COMMUNES—Country.
SMOKE-INS and other acts of public assertion.
JOURNAL to advocate our ideas.
EDUCATION OF THE PUBLIC on the cultural aspects of the movement —Public Lectures and other propaganda (posters, etc.).
FESTIVALS—outdoor and indoor.
SUPPORT OF THE UNDERGROUND — demonstrations, solidarity in court, etc.

About one hundred notices have been sent out to those who have handed in their names and addresses (many have arrived at Freedom Press). If you cannot attend the meeting but would like to be on the mailing list, you may write to me care of FREEDOM, preferably stipulating the activity you are principally interested in.

Vengeance

One of the most primitive and brutal instincts in man is to wreak vengeance on those who are believed to have done him harm or might do so. The growth of civilised thought and opinion has restrained the principle of an eye for an eye (hanging a man for stealing a sheep was some eye) as man came to understand that much so-called crime had roots in the offender's environment. Not surprisingly, conservatively-minded people are the principal advocates of brute repression and retribution. The recent killing of Police Superintendent Gerald Richardson is a fair example. His unfortunate widow has launched a campaign to restore hanging. Two women who are alleged to have assisted the escape of the supposed killer have been remanded in custody. Elderly matrons who thronged the court applauded the decision. It may be assumed that the two women were prompted by feelings of mutual aid, however criminal the law asserts their actions to be. The matrons, with time to burn and boredom to be relieved, are representatives of the unthinking mass of simple-minded citizens whose opinions would be best changed by experiencing the hopelessness and callousness of prison life which they believe to be the answer.

THIS WORLD

Wasted Land

In a country where the people are gasping for space it is of some importance that it be widely known that the Armed Forces establishment in Britain have somewhat over 600,000 acres under their control. The public is periodically reminded of one deadly aspect when civilians are accidentally killed when they wander onto such lands while target practice is going on. So far the public have accepted that the loss of these lands is compensated for by the security the forces afford the country. Perhaps one reasonable way to challenge this assumption is to counter with the question—what would happen if all the armed forces in England were disbanded? Some might answer that the Russians (or Martians) might then take us over. But almost certainly the correct answer would be that nothing would befall us other than the liberation of badly-needed land—and, of course, the saving of vast amounts of wealth, now wasted.

Curbing the Rulers

Mental hospitals and psychiatrists, generally, have now a vast arsenal of drugs to control and, sometimes, help patients. The latest additions have been behaviour-modifying chemicals which lower human aggressiveness. Dr. Kenneth Clark, newly-elected president of the American Psychological Association, suggests that these drugs should first be administered to the rulers of the world. Whether the suggestion can be taken seriously or not, the underlying implication that our rulers are men of disturbed mentality in terms of violence and the resultant misery to others is well worth examining.

Angry Protest

The recent killing of the Soledad prisoner, George Jackson, the arraignment of Angela Davis, and the arrests in Britain recently, present problems for anarchist activists. The general cause of social justice, resentment at the oppression of various sections of the population, the incarceration of revolutionaries (often on the flimsiest or non-existent evidence), all will have our sympathy at least. Unfortunately, many of these revolutionaries, sincere and dedicated as they may be now, are seeking power. On the evidence of the actions of successful revolutionaries (i.e. those who gain power) it invariably transpires that the revolution is betrayed by them and not seldom a more repressive regime than the old one is established.

But anarchists cannot afford to stand apart from everyday struggles, not if they expect the world to take them seriously, not if they take themselves and their philosophy seriously. The solution seems to be that while taking part in various demonstrations and movements their anti-authoritarianism is never left in doubt.

Sex—Charade and Tragedy

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This Week in Ireland

AUGUST 25

YOUR CORRESPONDENT from the People's Democracy, P.T., has jumped the gun a bit. The Forcible Entry Bill is not law yet. There is still another stage for it to go through in the Seaned, and after that Dev has to sign it. Now Dev is, or was, a crafty old fox and it is by no means impossible that he will consult the Supreme Court before he signs, for to many lawyers it looks as if the Bill is repugnant to the constitution.

Meanwhile horror succeeds horror. There is no doubt at all that the internees have been tortured by the military police and RUC. Probably not as much or as badly as the stories now current make out, but far too much, and this torture has inflamed passions, so that today we have the retaliatory torture of the Electricity Board bomb talks with Lynch and the Cabinet and the Opposition members here, but like tar-baby they 'ain't saying nuffin'. Gerry Fitt has gone to America to counter what John Taylor said, and also Geoffrey Johnson-Smith from the House of Parliament.

This morning the Special Branch arrived in at 30 Gardiner Place and searched both Sinn Fein and the *United Irishman* officers, and took away documents from the latter. Sinn Fein say it is the prelude to internment here.

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him harm or might do so. The growth of civilised thought and opinion has restrained the principle of an eye for an eye (hanging a man for stealing a sheep was some eye) as man came to understand that much so-called crime had roots in the offender's environment. Not surprisingly, conservatively-minded people are the principal advocates of brute repression and retribution. The recent killing of Police Superintendent

armed forces in England were disbanded? Some might answer that the Russians (or Martians) might then take us over. But almost certainly the correct answer would be that nothing would befall us other than the liberation of badly-needed land—and, of course, the saving of vast amounts of wealth, now wasted.

Curbing the Rulers

Mental hospitals and psychiatrists,

But anarchists cannot afford to stand apart from everyday struggles, not if they expect the world to take them seriously, not if they take themselves and their philosophy seriously. The solution seems to be that while taking part in various demonstrations and movements their anti-authoritarianism is never left in doubt.

Sex—Charade and Tragedy

While Lord Longford cavorts around

This Week in Ireland

AUGUST 25

YOUR CORRESPONDENT from the People's Democracy, P.T., has jumped the gun a bit. The Forcible Entry Bill is not law yet. There is still another stage for it to go through in the Seaned, and after that Dev has to sign it. Now Dev is, or was, a crafty old fox and it is by no means impossible that he will consult the Supreme Court before he signs, for to many lawyers it looks as if the Bill is repugnant to the constitution.

Meanwhile horror succeeds horror. There is no doubt at all that the internees have been tortured by the military police and RUC. Probably not as much or as badly as the stories now current make out, but far too much, and this torture has inflamed passions, so that today we have the retaliatory torture of the Electricity Board bomb explosion in Belfast. I do not care who was responsible for that, either branch of the IRA or the UVF or even a crackpot, it was about the wickedest thing that has been done yet. One dead and 35, including a pregnant woman, seriously injured and in hospital. It seems as if these people WANT to lose the sympathy of the whole world. The freedom of Ireland can never be won by brutality whichever side perpetrates it. Force and guns *cannot* win whether used by the British Army or by the IRA or by the Paisleyites.

The Opposition came down and had talks with Lynch and the Cabinet and the Opposition members here, but like tar-baby they 'ain't saying nuffin'. Gerry Fitt has gone to America to counter what John Taylor said, and also Geoffrey Johnson-Smith from the House of Parliament.

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Civil disobedience is the best weapon and must be escalated.

It is time your papers corrected a lie they published, namely that Scotland Yard and the RUC knew who had murdered the three Scottish soldiers and it was members of the IRA who are now hiding in the South. Both Scotland Yard and the RUC have denied this, and even the Belfast papers printed the denial. Not so your 'respectable' media.

A Dublin man went to Belfast for a day trip to see a relation. He was arrested as he got off the train and interned. The RUC had a photo of him taken at the first (and only) meeting in O'Connell Street he had ever attended. He has never belonged to any political party. After a day or two he was let go and put on the train for Dublin. No apology or explanation. I withhold his name purposely.

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AUGUST 26

More shootings and explosions all over the six counties. The Regular Sinn Fein have condemned the Electricity Board explosion and denied responsibility. I think some of these explosions are just crackpots cashing in for personal reasons. More lengthy discussions on THE BILL in the Seanad last night in which every amendment was defeated by Fianna Fail and the execrable O'Malley.

Sooner or later there will HAVE to be talks by everybody. Violence from either side cannot win.

H.

Keep Britain Colourful

DECLARATION: Our aim is to keep Britain colourful. We have heard enough of Britain's 'colour problem', we believe in celebrating the cultural diversity of modern Britain. Our grey money-mad society needs the enthusiasm of a carnival and the stillness of Eastern philosophy.

To achieve our object we propose the development of an alternative structure for community relations in Britain. At present the Government-controlled community relations structure is being centralised with the obvious intention of establishing a body with no guts and no sensitivity.

This country is uniquely involved with the work of race relations. It was Britain's slave trade, the British Empire and the still present exploitation of developing countries that all manifest themselves in many of the world's racial difficulties. Britain's immigrant community from the new Commonwealth has historical links with this country, many of them shameful episodes in British history. The least that can be done today is to try and atone for the wickedness of previous generations.

Primarily we live in a world where nationalism is outmoded. We are world citizens and we believe in the brotherhood of man. The diversity between rich and poor on our planet is a tragic imbalance that can only be corrected by radical changes involving a revolution in world trade and a change of ownership aimed at ending economic exploitation.

Our campaign will be independent of all instruments of Government policy in the field of community relations. The Government, using the Community Relations Commission as its tool, is set on establishing an acquiescent and compliant community relations set-up. We suspect this could be a step towards implementing a policy of repatriation of Commonwealth citizens to their countries of origin.

Our message is
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and psychiatrists, generally, have now a vast arsenal of drugs to control and, sometimes, help patients. The latest additions have been behaviour-modifying chemicals which lower human aggressiveness. Dr. Kenneth Clark, newly-elected president of the American Psychological Association, suggests that these drugs should first be administered to the rulers of the world. Whether the suggestion can be taken seriously or not, the underlying implication that our rulers are men of disturbed mentality in terms of violence and the resultant misery to others is well worth examining.

Angry Protest

The recent killing of the Soledad prisoner, George Jackson, the arraignment of Angela Davis, and the arrests in Britain recently, present problems for anarchist activists. The general cause of social justice, resentment at the oppression of various sections of the population, the incarceration of revolutionaries (often on the flimsiest or non-existent evidence), all will have our sympathy at least. Unfortunately, many of these revolutionaries, sincere and dedicated as they may be now, are seeking power. On the evidence of the actions of successful revolutionaries (i.e. those who gain power) it invariably transpires that the revolution is betrayed by them and not seldom a more repressive regime than the old one is established.

But anarchists cannot afford to stand apart from everyday struggles, not if they expect the world to take them seriously, not if they take themselves and their philosophy seriously. The solution seems to be that while taking part in various demonstrations and movements their anti-authoritarianism is never left in doubt.

Sex—Charade and Tragedy

While Lord Longford cavorts around the sexpots of Copenhagen, arousing boundless merriment at his near-misses ('Sir, you have not stayed for the intercourse') and efforts to restore Victoriana and, less humorously, to impose repressive moralism on us all, it may be well to study a survey done by a team of doctors in the working class area of Borehamwood, 20 miles north of London. They found that only one girl in three and one boy in seven obtained truthful sexual instruction from parents. The vast majority picked it up in what used to be referred to as the 'gutter'. Over a wide range of necessary knowledge—contraception, venereal diseases, masturbation, pregnancy—the doctors found wholesale ignorance. It is amongst this mass of people that concepts of pornography and sexual guilt exist. Moralists like Longford fully exploit this situation and, to a degree, are responsible for it.

One hopeful indication of a change for the better is that the younger members of the Longford Committee found the sex shows in Denmark boring and uninteresting rather than corrupting and immoral. Indeed people who night after night perform intercourse in public for the entertainment of prurient tourists are most likely to give a listless performance—it is notorious that sleeping with a prostitute is on her side at least a non-sexual act apart from the mechanics of the operation. The younger members of the committee have proven that there is no fool like an old fool.

ANARCHY raided

Anarchy magazine was one of the targets of police raids in their recent attempts to track down the Angry Brigade. Like the raids on Agitprop and other radical centres nothing was found but the police took advantage of the occasion to remove files and other information. I mentioned in the last issue that this sort of harassment may be continually expected and should be combated by solidarity and exposing police intrusions as far as possible. The march on Brixton Prison last Saturday marks, I trust, the beginning of such a campaign. At the moment the weekly meeting in the Marquis of Granby, in Cambridge Circus, on Sunday evenings at 7.30 p.m. provides a useful focal point for discussion and the planning of future action.

BILL DWYER.

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Contact Column is for making contact! Use is free, but donations towards typesetting costs are welcome

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of books, papers, pamphlets, badges, posters and leaflets, or send an sae for list.

Nurses, Social Workers and Medical Students in London area wishing to form discussion and action group write: Thomas Layden, 37 Grand Avenue, Muswell Hill, London, N.10.

Libertarian Teacher No. 7 out now. 10p from 36 Devonshire Road, Mill Hill, N.W.7.

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ORA Newsletter. Contents include 'Reminiscences and Revision'; 'Communes—revolutionary or escapist'; 'Aims and Principles'; reports on Paris, Solidarity Conference, Socialist Current debate, etc. ORA, c/o 138 Pennymead, Harlow, Essex.

AGITPROP, 248 Bethnal Green Road, London, E.2. 739 1704. The BOMB SQUAD has been to see us three times—they need a warrant, you don't, so come and see our selection

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Proposed Group—Exeter Area. John and Jill Driver, 21 Dukes Orchard, Bradninch, Exeter, EX5 4RA.

Anyone interested in forming a Cambridge Anarchist Group contact John Jenkins, 75 York Street, Cambridge.

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Our message is simple. Community and race relations cannot be vigorous and explore the possibilities of non-co-operation with (and resistance to) Government policies if community relations are controlled by that same Government. A free, independent voice is needed to speak for all people who see current legislation in the industrial relations and immigration fields as a threat to the citizens of Britain. We believe we must stand up to the insidious pressures in Britain advocating repatriation: we are determined to keep Britain colourful.

Reply to Jerry Westall, 34 Eustace Road, Chadwell Heath, Romford, Essex (former Community Relations Officer, London Borough of Newham).

VOLINE

The Unknown Revolution

(Kronstadt 1921 : Ukraine 1918-21)

We have had a great many enquiries for this title since it went out of print. We recently made the find of some of the sheets which we have completed and bound (hardcover, rexine).

A few pages have damp-stained margins.

This makes a very limited edition, and with a view to helping our own finances and making sure that people who have been asking for it get first chance, we are offering it at the price of £2.00 plus postage (inland 10p, abroad 15p), ONLY TO READERS OF 'FREEDOM' OR-

All profits from these sales will be put into the Press Fund.

ss. London, E.1